

manners of the Rumanian customs officials are unparalleled even in Bulgaria, Serbia, or Poland, though *these nations are of a highly conceited character*. If you arrive at a frontier station in Rumania you have the feeling that you have somehow or other landed in an inferior suburban district, and you will find that the police authorities adjust their manners and morals to suit the tastes of their environs. Just take the customs officers with their caps cocked over the eye, as if they were sitting in an ale-house! And the way they perform their duties is not only undignified but definitely demoralizing. They treat both foreign and native travellers most rudely and even

impudently." — No doubt the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Poles will energetically protest against having their officials compared with those of Rumania in respect of manners.

"BEWARE OF RUMANIANS!"

In an article published under this title in the "Universul", a Rumanian daily, on March 15th, a correspondent complains that many banks and shops in England have notices put up warning people to "Beware of Rumanians!"

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WHAT LEADING BRITISH PERSONALITIES THINK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND OF THE UNSOUND FRONTIERS OF TODAY

Fifteen prominent personalities figuring in British public life (*Lord Arnold, Lord Astor, Henry Carter, John Fisher Williams, Edward Grigg, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, George Pansbury, F. O. Lindley, Lord Lothian, Edith Lytton, Charles E. Raven, Lord Rennell, Lord Sanderson, Donald Soper, Lord Trenchard*) were the signatories of a Letter to the Editor of "The Times" which appeared in that journal on April 14th, and contained the following very instructive statements:

"If all nations were members of the League, if the League possessed power to revise treaties, remove barriers against the movement of goods and of people,

and to remedy other conditions calculated to lead to war, economic sanctions might prevent aggression without serious risk of war. But it is quite clear that the present international tension and crisis is fundamentally due to the fact that the League has not been able to deal with any of the major problems of the contemporary world. It has been unable to modify frontiers admittedly unsound, to abate economic nationalism — though this is by far the biggest single cause of social unrest, dictatorship, and international tension — or to limit armaments, just as it was unable to give to Germany, even when it was a republic, the "equality" which was its natural right."

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HOW MINORITIES LIVE

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

THE VOZÁRY CASE

The „Prághi Magyar Hirlap" (the organ of the United Hungarian Party of Czecho-Slovakia) of 2nd April 1937 reported that at a meeting of the Ruthenian Provincial Assembly on 1st April, the Vice-President of the Province, M. Jaroslav Meznik, stated that in accordance with the intentions of the President of the Republic and the Premier he wished to deal with minority affairs in a spirit of understanding. He had already issued instructions to the effect that in terms of Ordinance N° 229 ex 1928 the minorities were to be treated with the greatest consideration and the utmost concessions granted so far as the use of the Hungarian language was concerned.

In contradiction of this statement M. Meznik that same afternoon interrupted M. Aladár R. Vozáry (Hungarian Party Member of the Provincial Assembly) and told him he had no right to speak in Hungarian, since in his constituency (Munkács) the Hungarian minority was less than 20% of the population. Vozáry, however, continued his speech in Hungarian. In it he referred to the opening speech of the Vice-President of the Province in which the latter had said that the Hungarian minority was to receive more considerate and more liberal treatment. M. Vozáry was not able to reconcile the Vice-President's interruption with his opening speech, for the river Latorca

ran through other districts besides the Munkács district, and in those others the Hungarians had been classified as a minority of more than 20%. (The question under debate was the regulation of the river Latorca.) Thereupon Meznik again warned Vozáry not to speak Hungarian, and when the latter took no notice of this warning he first called him to order and then suspended the debate. When the sitting was re-opened, Vozáry expressed his astonishment that the Chairman had refused to allow him to make his speech in Hungarian, since hitherto there had been no difficulty about it, although the Chairman was not obliged to reply in that language, unless the subject under discussion referred to districts with a 20% Hungarian population. After warning him again the Chairman once more suspended the debate and called in two detectives. When one of them laid his hand on Vozáry's shoulder with the intention of leading him out of the room, Vozáry made an attempt to resist. He was led out of the room and was not allowed even to go up to the gallery.

This incident has aroused a storm of indignation among the Hungarians in both Czecho-Slovakia and Hungary; all the more so as it happened at a time when the Vice-President of Ruthenia — not without a certain cynicism — had just announced a more tolerant policy.

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To enable a foreigner unacquainted with conditions in Czecho-Slovakia to understand the signifi-

cance of what has happened it is necessary to remind him that: —

1. In the treaty concluded between Czecho-Slovakia on the one hand and the Allied and Associated Powers (Great Britain, the U. S. A, France, Italy and Japan) on the other on 10th September 1919 at St. Germain-en-Laye, Czecho-Slovakia undertook the following obligations:

„Czecho-Slovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czecho-Slovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czecho-Slovak State.” (Article 10.)

„The Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic and religious questions, in matters of local administration, and in other questions which the laws of the Czecho-Slovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene territory shall be appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet.” (Article 11.)

„Czecho-Slovakia agrees that officials in the Ruthene territory shall be chosen as far as possible from the inhabitants of this territory.” (Article 12.)

„Czecho-Slovakia guarantees to the Ruthene territory equitable representation in the legislative assembly of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, to which Assembly it will send deputies elected according to the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Republic. These deputies will not, however, have the right of voting in the Czecho-Slovak Diet upon legislative questions of the same kind as those assigned to the Ruthene Diet.” (Article 13.)

2. Not one letter of that treaty has been observed by the Czecho-Slovak Republic, except that Constantin Hrabár was appointed Governor. But his sphere of authority is so limited that he cannot even appoint an office messenger. After 18 years of unkept promises negotiations were begun recently between the Government and the leaders of the Czech parties in Ruthenia. The results are so far unknown. The Government does not allow the newspapers to write about them, and the Easter number of the „*Öslakó*”, a Hungarian weekly paper appearing in Munkács, was confiscated by the Public Prosecutor for containing mention of the draft of the autonomy prepared by the Coalition Parties (*Prágai Magyar Hírlap*, March 31.) According to what has hitherto leaked out, there is no word of anything more than a certain extension of the Governor's sphere of authority and the organization of an advisory committee. The „*Lidové Noviny*”, a newspaper closely connected with the Hradčín, says that this committee is to consist of 12 elected and 6 nominated members of the Provincial Assembly and 6 persons appointed by Government. Since the 6 nominated members are also appointed by Government, 12 of the 24 members of the committee would be appointed by Prague; and at the Provincial Assembly elections Government would have to win over only one man more to secure a majority. Needless to say this advisory committee is no legal substitute for the autonomous parliament guaranteed in the minority treaty and recognized therein as a factor

enjoying the same rights in autonomous matters as the Prague Parliament. Similarly an extension of the Governor's sphere of authority does not mean fulfilment of treaty obligations, for under the treaty the Governor is a functionary responsible to the autonomous Assembly and not an official appointed by Prague. (See pages 14—16 of enclosed Danubian Review for Andrew Korlát's speech on this subject in the Prague Parliament.)

3. Accordingly, should negotiations prove successful, Ruthenia's present Provincial Assembly and President would remain. All this has nothing to do with the *political autonomy* guaranteed in the treaty; these are merely questions of an *administrative self-government* the like of which is enjoyed by Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. What is most characteristic of the extent of that administrative autonomy is that in terms of the Law of 14th July 1927 (No. 125) which established that autonomy, questions of a political nature may not be discussed at Provincial Assembly meetings. In any case under this law one-third of the members of the Provincial Assemblies are appointed by Prague.

4. In distinct contradiction of Article 11 of the minority treaty, in the absence of a Diet, the Prague Parliament executes legislature in matters classified as autonomous by that treaty — religion, language, education and internal administration —, and the laws passed by the Prague Parliament are put into force by the Prague Government and its officials. In contradiction of Article 13 of the minority treaty, 85—90 per cent, of the public servants in Ruthenia are of Czech nationality. The head of the administration is a Czech, Provincial President Roszypal, as is also the Provincial Vice-President (Mezník). These are the men who rule Ruthenia, the Governor having no authority at all.

5. According to Article 11 of the minority treaty the language question also comes within the sphere of authority of the self-governing Diet. No such Diet existing, the language question is regulated by the Prague Parliament and Government. Thus the Czecho-Slovak Language Act (No. 122, 29th February, 1920) in terms of which minorities have no linguistic rights except in districts where they represent at least 20% of the population, and the Language Ordinances (Nos. 17, ex 1926 and 229, ex 1928), are in force also in Ruthenia. For the present we are only concerned with the last mentioned. In terms thereof the only members of the Provincial Assembly entitled to use their mother-tongue in the Assembly are those who belong to a minority which forms at least 20% of the population of the Province, and those who speak on behalf of a district in which the minority in question forms at least 20% of the resident population. This provision runs contrary not only to Article 11 of the minority treaty, but also to the Language Act (No. 122) of 1920, § 3 of which says that the self-government corporations themselves shall regulate the question of the use of minority languages.

6. The 1910 Census showed a 29.2% minority of Hungarians in Ruthenia. The Czecho-Slovak Census of 1920, by means of various devices, especially by the creation of a Jewish nationality and by forcing numerous Jews who called themselves Hungarians to register under the heading Jews, managed to reduce that percentage to 17.35. (For details see pages 62—78 of enclosed Memorandum.) As a result Hungarian members of the Provincial Assembly are not entitled to speak in Hungarian on every question, although they are the representatives of 109,472 inhabitants (1930 Czecho-Slovak census). At the same time Czech members are always entitled to speak in Czech, al-

though the number of *Czechs* and *Slovaks* in Ruthenia is only 33,961, or 4.79% of the total population.

7. But even under Ordinance No. 229/1928 M. Aladár Vozáry was fully entitled in the present instance to speak in Hungarian. The river Latorca on its course through Ruthenia flows through the Ungvár (Užhorod) administrative district, where even according to the 1930 Czecho-Slovak Census the population was 32.31% Hungarian. In refusing to allow Vozáry to speak in Hungarian Vice-President Meznik was guilty of a breach, not only of the minority treaty, the Czecho-Slovak Constitution and Language Act, but also of Ordinance No. 229 ex 1928.

8. The Czechs themselves, realising the injustice of forbidding the representatives of the Hungarians in Ruthenia to use their mother-tongue in the Provincial Assembly, seeing that the Hungarians had settled in Ruthenia earlier than the Ruthenians themselves and were high above them from a cultural point of view, have permitted speeches in Hungarian on all subjects in the Provincial Assembly since 1928. This usage was abolished by Vice-President Meznik, just when he had announced his intention of treating the minorities with consideration and understanding, and when he was reported to have issued instructions that the widest concessions were to be made in the matter of the Hungarian language. The Vozáry incident, however, would seem to indicate that instead of understanding and consideration the Hungarians may be prepared for worse things in the future.

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ACQUISITION OF RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP MADE MORE DIFFICULT

An old and standing complaint of the Hungarians in Czecho-Slovakia is the chaos surrounding the question of citizenship. The Bill now being drafted by Government is calculated to aggravate the question still further. From a minority point of view special danger lies in the provision which stipulates that no one may acquire citizenship who cannot speak the official language of the country. The problem of the "homeless" in Slovakia and Ruthenia is very vaguely regulated in the new Bill. According to the "Lidové Noviny" consideration will have to be paid to those Hungarian subjects who have been resident in Slovak or Ruthenian villages without interruption since 1st January 1910, but it will be for the *administrative authorities* to say whether they are ill-disposed towards the Republic or not. The most important innovation is that the Bill introduces de-nationalisation, i. e. the State may deprive its own subjects of their rights of citizenship. In terms of the draft the Prefect of any Province may deprive of their rights of citizenship all who offend against the interests of the Czecho-Slovak Republic.

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SUGGESTIVE FIGURES

The Hungarian population of the city of Pozsony, according to the figures of the last Census, represents 16.16% of the total number of inhabitants. Official statements recently made by various authorities point out that the Hungarians have a right everywhere to claim admission, according to their percentage, to public offices as well as to posts in private companies. Nevertheless, the national percentage is being totally

ignored at the Post Office of Pozsony. The total number of Post Office employees in that city is 896, and only 15, i. e. 1.67%, are Hungarians. In the parish of Szenc the percentage of the Hungarian population is officially given as 57.6% (out of a total number of 5609); nevertheless, the only school the parish has at present is Slovak, though the number of Slovak inhabitants is not more than 1934 in the whole parish. — Similarly, the parish of Sirák, where 84.87% of the inhabitants are Hungarians, has only one school, and that one is a Slovak school. — The percentage of the Hungarian population in the County Court district of Galánta is officially given as 62%; yet warrants are written in Czech only, even if the clients ask for the replies to be sent in Hungarian. — The Hungarian population represents 78.9% in the County Court district of Királyhelmec; yet, several official writings are written in Czech only, in defiance of the provisions of Law No. 122, 1920; no exception is made in favour of Hungarian clients, even if they lodge their information in Hungarian. (Prágai Magyar Hírlap, April 11.). — In the district of Somorja, where the Hungarians represent 76.63% of the population, as against 11.37% Slovaks and 9.05% Germans, the public institute for juvenile welfare has no Hungarian branch, nor has any such institution been established for the Hungarians.

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RUMANIA

AFTER EXISTING FOR CENTURIES THE SAXON "COMMUNITY" ("UNIVERSITAS") HAS BEEN DISSOLVED BY THE RUMANIANS

The Rumanian Senate has discussed and passed the Bill providing for the *dissolution of the "community" of the Saxons of Transylvania which had existed for centuries and possessed enormous wealth.* "By this sad act" — writes the "Kronstädter Zeitung" (26th. March 1937) — "an end has been put to something which was more than mere material wealth, — being a symbol of a great past and the emblem of the days when the Saxons possessed the right of self-determination." The new Act has transferred 75% of the assets of the now extinct Saxon "universitas" to the "Mihai Viteazul" Rumanian Cultural Fund established simultaneously with the dissolution of that "universitas", leaving 25% to be placed at the disposal of the Evangelical Church.

The distribution of the assets of the Saxon "universitas" was effected by agreement between the Saxon deputies and the Rumanian Government. The legality of this procedure has however been called in question by a daily — the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" — representing the section of the Saxons who have amalgamated in an opposition party, which in an article published in its April 4th. (1937) issue writes as follows: "Now that the Government is depriving the Saxons successively of their goods and possessions, a few Germans have entered into negotiations with the Government and have definitively renounced the ancient right of utilising their property exclusively exercised of old by the Saxons." In another article the same paper writes as follows: — "Only the General Meeting was entitled to decide in the matter of liquidation; and that right by no means belonged to a few members of the "Volksgemeinschaft": for the

ranks of the Germans include Saxons who do not belong to the "Volksgemeinschaft", while in the Királyföld region there are living claimants to the property who are of other race and other faiths, not only Saxons and Rumanians."

It this connection it will be interesting to glance back briefly at the history of the Saxon "universitas".

The foundations of this institution were laid by the *Diploma Andreanum* issued by Andrew II., King of Hungary, in 1224. This Diploma for centuries provided for the protection of the Saxon "nation", acted as guide of the Saxon people, administered justice and watched over the spirit of the German schools and over public morals etc. In 1876 — as a consequence of the administrative re-distribution of the territory of the country and of the abolition of "privileged" regions in keeping with the general European development of law — the Királyföld region (*Fundus Regius*) previously under Saxon administration was also divided into counties, being thus adjusted to the general administrative system of the country; but Act XII. of 1876 provided that the authority of the Saxon "universitas" in respect of the management of the property of the "universitas" should be left intact and that the revenues of that property which were freely available should be devoted to cultural purposes, for the benefit of all inhabitants alike without respect of religion or language. The right of disposal of the property of the "universitas" remained however in the hands of the General Meeting, the 20 Members of which were to be elected by the inhabitants of the said region who possessed suffrage rights. The Chairman of the General Meeting was the High Sheriff of the County of Szeben, — the legal successor of the Saxon "comes" of older days; consequently — seeing that out of particular consideration for the Saxons the Hungarian Government (apart from one single exception) always appointed the High Sheriff of Szeben from among the Saxons — the Chairman of the General Meeting was a Saxon, a circumstance which in itself sufficiently strikingly symbolises the Saxon character of the "universitas".

At the outset the Rumanian Government raised no objections against the exercise by the "universitas" of its rights. In 1934, however, the present Liberal Government appointed a provisional committee — consisting of 3 Saxon and 3 Rumanian Members functioning under the presidency of the Prefect of Nagyszeben, then of course no longer a Saxon, but a Rumanian by nationality — to administer the property of the Saxon "universitas". The Agrarian reform inflicted a grave blow on the "universitas", expropriating altogether 35,000 yokes out of the landed estate belonging to that institution and leaving only 1200 yokes of forest-land in its possession. The assets of the "universitas" — the value of which in pre-War days was estimated at 19.2 million gold crowns, their yield being 970,000 gold crowns a year — shrank to an amount of altogether 45 million lei, 33 millions of that amount consisting of State bonds yielding in the most favourable case a revenue of 3 million lei a year. Other assets belonging to the Saxon "universitas" were the agricultural school at Meggyes, with an estate of 75 yokes attached, and 10 valuable houses in Nagyszeben. And now the said Act is depriving the Saxon "universitas" of even this exceptionally diminished wealth. It should be pointed out, further, that the expropriated land (35,000 yokes, representing a value of 1,000 million lei) has come into the possession exclusively of Rumanians — against expropriation bonds of the nominal value of 33 million representing an actual value of only 12 million lei. And now, out of the fraction of its original wealth still left in the

hands of the Saxon "universitas" the new Rumanian Act has allotted 75% to a cultural endowment with exclusively Rumanian objects, the remaining 25% being allotted, not to the Saxons, but to the Evangelical Church. That means that when distributing the assets still remaining the authorities have cut off without a single penny, not only the Magyars (representing about 5% of the population of the Királyföld region), but also the Catholic Germans living within the territory.

In the days of Hungarian rule the Saxons were enabled to keep in their possession the whole property of their "universitas"; under the present régime, however, they have been simply deprived of their goods. That is the difference between the nationality policy of "feudal" Hungary and that of "democratic" Rumania.

STATE OF SIEGE AND CENSORSHIP TO CONTINUE

According to the law published in the official gazette (*Monitorul Oficial*) on March 15th the state of siege and the censorship in Rumania are to be prolonged until September 16th, 1937; the terms of the state of siege are to be much more rigorous than they have been so far. It will be remembered, namely, that ever since Rumania annexed her new territories (formerly parts of Hungary) — that is to say, for the last twenty years, with the exception of a period between 1929 and 1932 — a state of siege and a censorship have permanently prevailed in these areas. This fact has been severely criticized even by the Rumanian papers. Thus, for instance, the "Adeverul", a radical paper appearing in Bucharest writes as follows (on March 11): "Now, twenty years after the Great War, the Rumanian people still live under extraordinary conditions. After the introduction of Land Reform and Universal Suffrage the ruling class now wishes to perpetuate its rule with the help of the state of siege. Since the distribution of land may now be considered a failure, owing to the lack of credit and sufficient financial support, this state of siege is intended to deal a fatal blow to the system of universal suffrage too. As if Rumania were still living in 1918."

Needless to say, this suspension of liberties weighs most heavily upon the minorities. We have referred already to many cases in the columns of this paper to show that in those areas which are in a state of siege the Hungarian Party meetings and even the meetings of religious bodies have been prohibited.

While the state of siege refers only to certain parts of Rumania, a censorship has been introduced in the whole country extending to the preliminary control of all kinds of printed matter and the press in general. The authorities have a right to prohibit the publication of any daily paper, any news or articles, etc. When the prolongation of the state of siege was brought before Parliament, the Hungarian members protested that the censorship was active even in those areas where the safety of the State was exposed to no danger whatsoever, and that it did not allow the use of geographical names in the languages of the minorities, with the result that the minority papers have been more than once obliged to change their titles (*Brassói Lapok*, March 14). — M. Gafencu, Senator of the National Peasant Party, has pointed out that the censor has cancelled whole passages of the speech made by Prof. Jorga, former Prime Minister, in the Senate.

RUMANIZATION OF HUNGARIAN AND GERMAN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE BEGUN WITH RENEWED ENERGY

A National Labour Bill has been introduced in the Rumanian Parliament which, if it becomes law, will mean that 75% of the employees of commercial and industrial undertakings must be of Rumanian origin (*origina etica romaneasca*). The two biggest minorities, the Hungarians and the Germans, energetically oppose the new Bill.

The protest submitted in a memorandum to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs by the Hungarian Party lays stress on the fact that the Bill is diametrically opposed to the international treaties for the protection of the minorities. Moreover, it is a violation of very important principles of the Rumanian Constitution. The Hungarian breadwinners who have been thrown out of the public services and have only with the greatest difficulty found posts in private undertakings, are in danger of losing the latter and being cast out into the streets. According to the Hungarian press, the Bill would reduce hundreds of thousands to beggary and shake the foundations of those big enterprises in the development of which the men who are to lose their jobs have played an important rôle.

Particularly energetic are the protests in the press of the Germans of Rumania. The "Kronstädter Zeitung" of 12th March, for instance, calls the Bill the most unfortunate step ever taken by the Rumanian Government. It declares the Bill an infraction of the Constitution; depriving, as it does, citizens of their fundamental rights and flouting the principle of equality, it strikes at the very foundations of the State itself. The "Kronstädter Zeitung" is convinced that the well-known results of "nationalization", as witnessed in Soviet Russia, will not fail to follow. The "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt" points out that the flourishing industries and commercial concerns which the Rumanians found in Transylvania at the time of the union were mostly in the hands of the present minorities. In principle and in practice the new Bill will create intolerable conditions, for it will drive tens of thousands of German workmen into the arms of Bolshevism. Should the Bill become law — says this German paper — it would cause a serious breach between the Rumanians and the minorities and force the latter in self-defence to form a united *bloc*. This breach of the Constitution violates the Gyulafehérvár resolutions as well as the minority treaties; and it is the duty of the leaders of the German minority — continues the paper — to fight against it in the constitutional departments and also in Geneva, before the eyes of the whole world (March 18). In the name of the German People's Council of Rumania, its chairman, M. Fabritius, has made a statement to the effect that the German *Volksgruppe* has waged and will continue to wage unceasing war against all endeavours to degrade the Germans to the rank of second-rate citizens in the spheres of culture and economy. The new Bill signifies the most serious interference with the most elementary rights of the Germans and will deprive many thousands of them of work and wages. In the event of its becoming law serious Communist danger lies ahead ("Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", March 23).

According to the latest information received, the Government intends to put the National Labour Defence Bill in force by Edict (*decret-lege*).

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THE "ECONOMIST" ON THE "NUMERUS VALACHICUS"

In one of its April issues the "Economist" expresses its disapproval of those laws which are now about to be passed by the Rumanian Parliament against the minority population, which forms 30% of the total population of post-war Rumania. Rumania is not in a position to encounter the hostile attitude which these laws for the prosecution of the minorities are bound to create — on the score of racial affinity — both in Budapest and in Berlin. The Rumanian Government apparently proposes to appease the Rumanian intellectual proletariat by securing for it all public and private employments; such an enormous abuse of political power must, however, lead to very grave consequences.

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HUNGARIANS COMPELLED TO ABANDON THEIR RELIGION

The inhabitants of the county of Maros-Torda, particularly those of the parish of Szentháromság (Troita) are being compelled to go over to the Greek Catholic Church. The sergeant of gendarmes, the parish clerk, and the Greek Catholic priest have already succeeded in frightening 200 Unitarian and Roman Catholic inhabitants of that parish into conversion. When a delegation appeared before the Government Commissioner to protest against these atrocities, two members of the delegation, the Rev. János Antal a Roman Catholic priest, and the Rev. Gyula Pap, a Unitarian minister, were arrested by the gendarmes and were only released by command of the State Attorney. (Reggeli Újság, April 1., and Brassói Lapok, April 15.) — In Nagybánya, where the State has very rich ore mines, the engineers are persuading the Roman Catholic and Reformed miners to become Greek Orientals, in return for which they will be allowed to pass the language tests in summer without any difficulty. (Brassói Lapok, April 2.) — The sergeant of gendarmes in the parish of Görgény has arrested and insulted the Rev. Imre Szász, a Reformed minister, for reading from the Bible to a family from his congregation. (Népujság, March 23.)

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PRIOR OF PREMONSTRATIENSIAN ORDER IN NAGYVÁRAD DEPRIVED OF HIS RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP AND EXPELLED TO ENABLE STATE TO CONFISCATE POSSESSIONS OF ORDER

Camillo Kovács, Prior of the Premonstratensian Order of Canons, who is a Magyar by race, has been deprived of his rights of citizenship and expelled from Rumania by order of the Cabinet Council. The moment the writ of expulsion had been served on him, the gendarmes conducted him to the Hungarian frontier. Since years Prior Kovács has been fighting a losing battle to save the Order's possessions in Nagyvárad, as has more than once been reported in these columns. Scarcely had Prior Kovács been driven from his post when Onisifor Ghibu, university professor, as head of the Land Registry Department, filed a petition with the Court of Justice asking that, as

the Order lacked a Superior (!), the real estate belonging thereto — the very valuable Felix Thermal Baths, and the buildings of the Academy of Law which are part of the Catholic Educational Foundation — should be conveyed to the State (Keleti Ujság, March 22). Professor Ghibu has also had conveyed to the State the monastery of the Piarists in Mármarosziget, as well as the Piarist secondary school there (Magyar Lapok, March 11).

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STATE GRANTS TO HUNGARIAN INSTITUTIONS AND MINORITY CHURCHES AGAIN NOT INCLUDED IN THE BUDGET

The State grants to minority Church schools have been left out of the new Rumanian Budget, as in all previous years, notwithstanding the fact that these grants were provided for in Art. 10. of the Minority Agreement of Paris; Rumania, too, seems to have forgotten about the generosity of the Hungarian State towards the schools of the Rumanian minority prior to the Great War. The inequality of this treatment is only increased by the fact that the schools of the German minority receive a grant of 2 million lei under the Budget and another two millions of extra-budgetary credit (Keleti Ujság, March 12., and Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt, March 21.). — The State contributions to the salaries of the minority clergy will be considerably lower than at present; they will receive a much smaller subsidy than the clergy of the State (Greek Orthodox) Church; an Orthodox clergyman will receive a monthly grant of 4.060 lei, a Greek Catholic priest: 3.950 lei, Roman Catholics: 3.000 lei, Lutherans: 2.950 lei, Calvinists: 1.800 lei, Unitarians: 1.200 lei (Keleti Ujság, March 21.). — The towns and counties with a considerable Magyar minority too, have left the institutions of the minorities altogether out of their Budget calculations. Thus, for instance, the city of Marosvásárhely, which has a purely Magyar population, gives no subsidy whatsoever to the cultural institutions of its Hungarian citizens, while its infinitely smaller Rumanian schools, Church institutions, and other cultural institutions receive very respectable grants from the city (Brassói Lapok, March 13.). — The situation is the same in the 97% Hungarian city of Nagyszalonta, where the Rumanian Churches receive a grant of 470.000 lei, while the applications of the minority Churches for a similar grant have simply been refused (Keleti Ujság, March 8.).

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CULTURAL COMPLAINTS OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY

For a whole year the Hungarians of the parish of Szamosujvár have been unable to obtain permission from the authorities for their amateur theatrical performances. (Népujság, March 21.) — The Rumanian authorities have refused to permit the performance of a Hungarian play entitled "The Great Jeweller", written by the famous Hungarian humorist Frigyes Karinthy. (Keleti Ujság, March 29.) — A publishing company in Kolozsvár received a considerable order for prize books to be distributed among the Hungarian children of the Church and State schools in Arad by the local branch of the Hungarian Party there. When the consignment of books had been duly dispatched by the company, a warrant for the confiscation of the

books was issued by the Prefect of the local police, in spite of the fact that these books had been ordered with the permission of the Ministry and of the Censor. (Népujság, April 6.)

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HUNGARIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES TO DISAPPEAR EVEN FROM THE LAND REGISTER

The Ministry of Justice has instructed all law courts in Transylvania to strike off all the old Hungarian names of towns, parishes, rivers, mountains, lanes, etc. from the Land Register. (Ellenzék, March 6.) — The police authorities of the city of Arad have ordered all merchants and private companies to put up new sign boards within two weeks, with purely Rumanian inscriptions. (Hirlap, March 19.) — The Censor of the city of Temesvár has decreed that all posters have now to be printed in Rumanian only. (Brassói Lapok, March 22.)

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LANGUAGE TESTS

The system of language tests is now being extended to economic life as well. The Chambers of Labour have already received the latest decree of the Government ordering private employees to take the language tests. ("Keleti Ujság", March 13.). — This order applies even to the two thousand employees of the metal mines of the State, including miners, servants, and officials; these people have to take the language tests in June. ("Aradi Közlöny", March 23.). — Even sports are not free from this chicanery. In the cities of Nagyvárad and Arad respectively six (out of altogether 12) minority football referees have been disqualified owing to an insufficient knowledge of Rumanian. ("Friss Ujság", March 27.).

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MORE PAPERS CONFISCATED

The Hungarian daily papers, "Magyar Lapok" and "Népujság", appearing in Nagyvárad were confiscated on March 13th, and are not allowed to appear for one month each. ("Brassói Lapok", March 25.). — The German daily papers "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", published at Nagyszeben, and "Kronstädter Zeitung" appearing in Brassó, have also been confiscated because they continued to use the old German geographical names. The only Ruthenian paper in Rumania, the "Čas" has met with the same fate.

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HUNGARIAN MINORITY EXCLUDED FROM SELFGOVERNMENT

The selfgovernment recently instituted by a series of Rumanian laws is merely a formality not to be compared to the home rule Transylvania enjoyed for many centuries in the past. How is it possible to give the name of "autonomy" to a system which authorizes the Government to appoint temporary committees for the performance of the duties of certain autonomous bodies? There are hardly any autonomous bodies functioning at present in Transylvania, especially in the Hungarian areas. Although it was decreed under the latest administrative law that the new councils of towns and parishes — which are now replaced by

temporary committees — have to be elected not later than March 1937, the Government is continually postponing the date of the elections. The city of Nagyvárad has had an elected council for not more than four years out of eighteen. The Minister of the Interior has ordered the dissolution of the newly elected parish council of Nyáradszereda (95% Hungarian!) because the president by seniority — not speaking any other language — addressed the constituent assembly in Hungarian. (From "Brassói Lapok", March 7.)

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ANOTHER OFFENSIVE LAND BILL

An amendment to Art. 47 of the Land Reform Bill declares that the State is to be considered to have the right of preemption in the case of the buildings, investments and even the nonagrarian areas of properties that have been wholly or partly expropriated. The minority deputies and senators of the Rumanian Parliament have protested against the amendment as being in defiance of the terms of the Constitution. Another objection against the Bill is that it refers to Transylvania only and that it proposes to enforce these measures with a retroactive force. Herr Binder, a German senator, has pointed out that the Legislative Council has considered the Bill to be anti-constitutional.

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YUGOSLAVIA

WHY ARE THE CROATIANS DISSATISFIED ?

The answer to this question, which has been much discussed in the European press, will be found in the following extracts from speeches made in the Skupstina and the Senate and from articles published recently in various newspapers.

Dr. Kosić, university professor and Serb member of the Skupstina, delivered two great speeches in which he treated of the main reasons of Croatian dissatisfaction. In his opinion the chief causes thereof are to be found in the Vidovdan Constitution, which, contrary to the Corfu Agreement and the spirit and letter of the Geneva Declaration of 1918, was voted by an unqualified and bribed majority in the absence of the representatives of the Croats and Slovenes; in the lack of a real equality of rights, and in the slights heaped on the Croats. Of the 25 successive Premiers 23 have been Serbs of Serbia, 1 Serb of Bosnia and 1 a Slovene. None of them was a Croat. Of the officials in the ministries 74.5% are Serbs and only 16.5% Croats. There is not one single Croat at the head of the big banking establishments and economic organizations. Since ten years the Croats — like the Hungarian and German citizens of the Voivodina — have been paying income taxes from which the Serbs are exempt. In addition, the regions inhabited by Croats are practically neglected when it comes to the distribution of State investments.

As against these opinions of Dr. Kosić three former ministers and supporters of the Dictatorship, Koić, Popović and Rafailović, deny the existence of a Croatian question. They urge the maintenance of centralism in an unaltered form, arguing that Yugoslavia is merely the Kingdom of Serbia on an enlarged scale. The answer to Rafailović's assertion that the Croats have no cause for complaint, since during

the Hungarian era they never had a minister of their own, was given in the "Pravda" by Adam Pribičević, brother of the Swetozar Pribičević who died last year in exile and chairman of the Independent Democratic Party. "In terms of the Hungaro-Croatian compromise of 1868" — he writes — "Croatia-Slavonia enjoyed complete independence in the spheres of administration, justice and education. The Ban of Croatia was a minister with the rights and authority of three portfolios; and at the head of every department there was a chief whose rank was that of a State Secretary. Besides this, in the sphere of joint legislation the executive power was entirely in the hands of the Ban. Thus Croatia had not one but three ministers in the person of the Ban, who exercised the executive power of the joint ministers throughout the Croatian territories. The Ban had also headquarters in Budapest as attached to the common Government and was a sort of link between the autonomous Zagreb and the common Budapest Government. Croatia had also its own militia, gendarmerie and police, the official language of which was Croatian, and it had its own colours and coat-of-arms." (February 21).

The Croatian "Hrvatski Dnevnik" of 25th February writes: "The Croats have not relinquished their right to the things of which Adam Pribičević writes. They have not sacrificed anything voluntarily, but have been robbed by force of what was theirs. But robbery is always robbery, and the right to regain stolen goods never falls into abeyance. This is particularly true when the sufferer is a nation that harms no one, but merely defends its own and struggles to obtain its rights."

Of the speeches delivered in the Senate those of two Croatian senators, Andjelinović and Superina, deserve special attention. On 18th March Senator Andjelinović, former minister, amongst other things said: — "We Croats who were in office in different Cabinets never had any of the important portfolios and therefore had nothing to say in questions of State policy and the administration of State affairs." And on 19th March Senator Superina said: — "In terms of the Hungaro-Croatian compromise of 1868, Croatia was recognized as a separate political nation with its own legislation and government in certain matters. So far as Dalmatia was concerned Hungary gave promises that she would do everything possible to have the territories of the Littoral attached to Croatia. (Dalmatia *de facto* belonged to Austria, Ed.) The legislative and executive power was in Croatia's own hands in the spheres of justice, internal affairs, education, architecture, agriculture, social policy and hygiene as well as physical culture, and part of the portfolio of the present Ministry of Forests and Mines. In commerce and industry Croatia was its own executive power. This means that portfolios corresponding to eight of Yugoslavia's present ministries were in the hands of the Croats as regards legislation and the executive power, while in one of the ministries they exercised executive power only. All these matters were administered by the Government of the country, at the head of which stood the Ban with four departmental chiefs each of whom had the authority of a minister. The Ban himself was the Premier of the Croatian Government.

"The Ban of Croatia was a link between the Government of Croatia and the Crown. In common Croatian and Hungarian affairs the Croats exercised an influence through the members sent to Parliament in Budapest by the Croatian *Sabor*, and the common affairs of the whole Monarchy were controlled by a delegation a certain number of whose members were Croats. And we were not content with this state of affairs. In the field of administration the local

governments in Dalmatia, Carniola, Istria, Görz and Triest had a much greater sphere of authority than in the present Banates, not to speak of the fact that those provinces had their own provincial assemblies with legislative rights in matters concerning the provinces.

"These historical facts show that the statesmen and politicians of the Serb Kingdom have not fulfilled the obligations undertaken by them towards the Croats and that they have framed a constitution which destroys the political and national individuality of the Croatian nation; also that the Croats have lost everything they possessed in the Habsburg Monarchy before its collapse. When people say that in Yugoslavia we have a Greater Croatia, I can only take it as an ironical statement... When the union with Serbia was completed the Croats behaved like idealists, even like altruists. They did so convinced that the Serb statesmen and politicians would not abuse the ideal of national unity to further their own imperial interests and deprive the Croatian nation of all the political rights it enjoyed within the Monarchy, rights it had preserved through centuries of struggle."

Illustrative of the slights put on the Croats is also the complaint concerning the wretched financial condition of the Zagreb University submitted to the Government lately in person by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. Whereas the Belgrade University continually receives large sums from the Budget, the Zagreb University, the equipments of which are out-of-date, received from the Government for the purposes of modern improvements 50,000 instead of 45,000,000 dinars. The 50,000 dinars are insufficient to pay for even the most urgent repairs.

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SERB POLITICIAN ON SITUATION OF SERBS IN HUNGARY

In an article in the February issue of a Serb magazine, the "Glas Srpske", Dr. Kosta Hadji, a leader of the Serbs in the Voivodina, bears witness to the understanding and consideration displayed by the Hungarian Governments of the Monarchy in their dealings with the Serbs in Hungary. During the war the Serbs in Bosnia and Hercegovina were in a very trying position. Already at the beginning of hostilities it proved extremely difficult to provide the inhabitants of those areas with the necessary articles of food, and in the latter years of the war, but particularly in 1917, destitution among them assumed alarming proportions. Food, it is true, was sent from Croatia and Hungary, but not in sufficient quantities to satisfy the needs of the population, especially of the children. Thereupon the Serbs of the Voivodina and Croatia-Slavonia decided to find temporary homes for the Serb children of Bosnia and Hercegovina in the Bácska and the Banate, and for this purpose committees were formed in Újvidék and Zagreb. No obstacle whatever was placed in the way of these committees by the Hungarian authorities, and the result of their activities was that in two years no fewer than 10,400 Serb children from the stricken areas found homes for several months with Serb families in the Bácska and the Banate. On 20th January, 1918, however, it happened that the Commissioner of Police in Újvidék held up a train that had arrived with 600 Serb children and would not allow them to leave it, since there was a possibility of their spreading contagious diseases in Southern Hungary. To overcome the difficulty Dr. Hadji telephoned to M. Alexander Wekerle, then Hun-

garian Prime Minister, who immediately instructed the police in Újvidék not to prevent the Serb children proceeding to their destinations. Dr. Hadji does not stint his appreciation of the Hungarian Government's behaviour. It is, however, extremely characteristic of the attitude displayed by the Serbs of Újvidék that the relief committee very soon secretly resolved itself into the Újvidék Serb National Council which on 25th November 1918 proclaimed, without the consent of a 61% majority of the population of the Voivodina, the separation of Southern Hungary from the mother-country.

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300—350 HUNGARIAN STATE OFFICIALS INSTEAD OF 9000.

The Budget Estimates for the year 1937/38 put the personal expenditure of the country at 5000 million dinars, which represents 47% of the total expenditure. Since 1927 the number of State officials and employees has risen from 175,000 to 220,000 that being an increase of 45,000 within ten years. On account of their percentage, — even according to the official records, — the Hungarians of Yugoslavia would be entitled to hold 8000 positions in the service of the State. Adding to this the number of the Banate, district, municipal and parish officials — which is at least 30,600 — the Hungarians should hold at least 9000 public posts. In reality, however, the number of those Hungarian officials and employees who have not yet been turned out of their jobs cannot be more than 300—350, and even most of these individuals are serving in inferior positions. On the other hand, the Serbs of Hungary — before the war — were represented by very large numbers of parish clerks as well as in the different grades of municipal, county, and State officials and employees, and even in the Army, up to the highest ranks.

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100—131 HUNGARIAN TEACHERS INSTEAD OF 1084

In his speech on the Budget M. Stosovitch, Minister of Education, put the number of elementary schools in Yugoslavia at 8590 and that of school teachers at 30,360. According to their percentage the Hungarians of Yugoslavia would be entitled to not less than 307 elementary school sections which, counting four classes for each section, would amount to 1228 elementary classes. In reality, however, the Hungarians of Yugoslavia have not more than 528 elementary classes — i. e. 132 elementary sections in all; even in these classes most of the subjects are taught in the language of the State, in defiance of Art. 9. of the Minority Treaty and of § 45 of the Yugoslav Elementary Education Act. Out of the 30,360 elementary school teachers at least 1084 should be Hungarians (according to the percentage of the Hungarian population), while actually there are not more than 100—130 Hungarian teachers employed at present, the other teachers of the Hungarian sections being persons of Serbian or Yugoslav origin who — in all probability — know very little or no Hungarian.

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17 PARISHES AND FARMSTEADS WITHOUT A SCHOOL — IN ONE DISTRICT

At a meeting of the officially appointed Banate Council in March last year M. Ferenc Keceli-Mészáros, Hungarian Banate Councillor, complained that teaching had been suspended many years previously in 17 schools in the parishes and farmsteads of the purely Hungarian District of Zenta, since — regardless of repeated applications and interventions — the Ministry of Education has refused to appoint to these schools teachers qualified to teach in Hungarian. In consequence of this many hundreds of Hungarian school children in the district have received no schooling for the last ten years or so. The authorities gave a firm promise to redress these grievances before the beginning of the current school year. At a meeting of the Banate Council in February this year M. Keceli-Mészáros was obliged to hand a memorandum to M. Rajić, the Vice-Ban, asking for the fulfilment of last year's promise.

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MISAPPROPRIATION OF MINORITY FOUNDATIONS

The town of Zombor had three big foundations, the incomes of two of which (the Falcione and the

Gyalokay foundations) in terms of the deeds of endowment were to be used to aid poor Hungarian, German and Bounievatz Roman Catholic or Protestant students, while that of the third, the Kotzik foundation, was to be made use of to maintain an orphanage. After the change of rule the Serb Municipal administration made use of the incomes accruing from the foundations for Serb nationalist and other unknown purposes. Now the new administration appointed a few months ago has decreed that the incomes are to be handed over to their original purposes as stipulated by the founders. Within the past 18 years no less than 1,944,000 dinars of the income accruing from the two first-mentioned foundations have been misappropriated.

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ATROCITIES OF GENDARMES

A Hungarian and a German inhabitant of the parish of *Bocsár* (in the Banate) were severely chastised by the gendarmes because they had informed their friends in the parish that a party of Serbian guests at a restaurant in the village were singing songs offensive to the minority inhabitants. As a sign of protest against the brutality of the gendarmes the minority members of the parish council have resigned their offices.

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B O O K S

Romulus Seisanu: "Rumania in the Course of Ages. A Historical, Geopolitical, Ethnographical and Economic Atlas." ("Universul" Bucarest 1936.)

With the above title Romulus Seisanu has published an atlas containing a large number of maps and diagrams. The text is in English French and Rumanian and the preface was written by M. Stelian Popescu, former minister, present editor of the "Universul" and chairman of the Anti-revisionist League. The object of this publication is to refute the arguments put forward in support of the Hungarian revision movement, convince the reader that the *status quo* is the best, and prove that the frontiers drawn in Central Europe by the Paris peace treaties — thus also the frontiers of dismembered Hungary — were demarcated on the principle of self-determination; that therefore the incorporation of the territories wrested from Hungary in the States of the Little Entente was a just act, consequently Hungary has no legitimate historical or ethnical title to demand a restoration of those regions from Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia or Yugoslavia.

The limited space at our disposal precludes the possibility of refuting in this article all the statements contained in this bulky volume. For the present, therefore, we shall confine our attention to certain of them, but with the intimation that a book is being written which, throwing the true light of geography, history, ethnography and economics on the daring assertions of Rumanian propaganda, will refute them point by point. This work will show that they are a faithful continuation of the propaganda of misrepresentation wherewith at the time of the Peace Conference the statesmen conducting it were induced to draw such

unjust frontiers in Central Europe, frontiers that mock the principle of self-determination and stand in the way of peace in the Danube Valley.

Two-thirds of Seisanu's atlas, about a hundred and thirty-two pages, are devoted to the task of convincing the reader that the invasion of the Hungarians — the word "invasion" is always used when mention is made of the settlement of the Hungarians between the Carpathians and the Adriatic in the X century — found Rumanians in Transylvania. These Rumanians are declared to be lineal descendants of Dacians who under a Roman rule extending from 101 B. C. to 274 A. D. became Latinized.

History, however, has long since proved that the thesis of Rumanian descent from the Romans is a myth pure and simple. Roman rule in Dacia lasted 173 years at the close of which, the last Roman soldier left Dacia. The Romans maintained their 173 years' rule over Dacia by military force, and besides their armies there was only a very small number of colonists in the country, sent there to exploit it. And even these colonists did not come from Italy. (The assertion that they did was disproved with all the weight of historical science by Louis Tamás in the November issue of this paper.) They came from the eastern provinces of the mighty Roman Empire where, as we know, the inhabitants were not Latins. For this reason alone it is impossible that the Dacians became Latinized during the brief duration of Roman rule, since no Latins settled in Dacia. Opposed to this legend is the certainly, proved by history, that the *Vlachs*, a nomadic